

JUNE 27 1950
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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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S. Pat. Off.

What Does the Korean Invasion Mean to the United States and the United Nations?

Acting Moderator, LEO M. CHERNE

Speakers

WALTER H. JUDD

QUINCY WRIGHT

(See also page 12)

COMING

July 4, 1950

Is the Fair Deal Destroying Individual
Responsibility?

July 11, 1950

The Stake of Business in Our Foreign Policy

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 18, N. Y.

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CONTENTS



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THE BROADCAST OF JUNE 27:

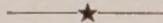
"What Does the Korean Invasion Mean to the United States and the United Nations?"

Mr. CHERNE.....	3
Dr. WRIGHT.....	4
Congressman JUDD.....	6
QUESTIONS, PLEASE!.....	11
THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN.....	12



THE BROADCAST OF JULY 4:

"Is the Fair Deal Destroying Individual Responsibility?"



THE BROADCAST OF JULY 11:

"The Stake of Business in Our Foreign Policy"



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Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



JUNE 27, 1950

VOL. 16, No. 9

What Does the Korean Invasion Mean to the United States and the United Nations?

Announcer:

Tonight and next week, your Town Meeting originates in New York. The subject next Tuesday will be, "Is the Fair Deal Destroying Individual Responsibility?" Our speakers will be Max Lerner and Vivien Kellems, unless, of course, developments in the Korean war suggest a further Town Hall discussion of the international scene. If you expect to be in New York, you may obtain tickets by writing or stopping in at Town Hall.

On July 11, we will broadcast from Colgate University in Hamilton, New York, under the auspices of the Second Annual Conference on American Foreign Policy. The subject will be, "The Stake of Business in our Foreign Policy," and the speakers will be Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and H. W. Balgooyen, Secretary and Assistant Treasurer of the American and Foreign Power Company.

And now, to preside over our discussion in the absence of George V. Denny, Jr., here is our guest moderator, Leo Cherne, Executive Secretary of the Research Institute of America. Mr. Cherne. (Applause)

Moderator Cherne:

Good evening, friends. Town Meeting is called to order tonight in a truly dreadful moment of world history. The unprovoked invasion of the Republic of South Korea confronts the world with the most acute threat to the peace since the United Nations was formed.

Only yesterday, most Americans hardly knew where Korea

was. Tonight, the destiny of all the world may turn on that obscure corner of the Asiatic mainland. It is for this reason, of course, that Town Meeting changed its subject for discussion tonight.

This very afternoon, both our own Government and the Security Council of the United Nations came to grips with this crisis in historic fashion. Recognizing that its order of Sunday—calling upon the forces of North Korea to withdraw to the 38th parallel—had been ignored and that, indeed, within days all of South Korea might fall before the advancing communist forces of North Korea, the Security Council is meeting at this very moment to vote upon the United States resolution, calling upon all of the member nations to send every necessary assistance to the beleaguered South Koreans.

This afternoon, President Truman announced that American air and naval forces were already being ordered, not only to the defense of South Korea, but to the assistance of Formosa, as well.

We may well ask ourselves, as Town Hall does tonight, how real is the hope that the United Nations may bring peace, now that it confronts its gravest challenge? What are the prospects that the sanctions imposed by the United Nations will work? And what should we, the American people, and our Government do to correct this grave breach of the peace?

Town Meeting first hears from one long associated with the problems of war and peace, one who is a student of the Far East, as well. Dr. Quincy Wright has been Professor of International Law at the University of Chicago since 1923. He was a consultant in the Department of State during the war and is the author of *Legal Problems in the Far Eastern Conflict* and *A Study of War*. Dr. Wright. (Applause)

Dr. Wright:

Vigorous action to support the strong resolution just approved by the Security Council is both an obligation and an interest of the United States.

It is an obligation because the United States is bound by the charter to carry out the decisions of the Security Council. The Security Council, on June 26, decided that an armed attack had been made on the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea; called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw their forces to the 38th parallel; and called upon all members to render assistance to the United

Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities.

The last decision authorizes but does not require members to give what military assistance they can to drive the Northern Korean forces back to the 38th parallel. The resolution considered this afternoon makes this obligation clear. Because North Korea has not withdrawn its troops as required, it calls upon all members to give help to the South Korean government.

These are strong resolutions. Their object is to stop Northern Korean aggression and to restore the status quo.

Action to incorporate Northern Korea in the Korean Republic has not been called for, although the United Nations General Assembly declared last fall that the Korean Republic is the only lawful government in Korea.

It is important that the Soviet Union has not formally committed itself to support this aggression. It is still in a position to abandon the affair, if its puppet proves to be unsuccessful. On the other hand, military information indicates that unless prompt and adequate assistance is given the Korean Republic, the Communists from the North are likely to succeed.

The Korean Republic, established by United Nations supervised elections in 1948, has been beset by continuous communist uprisings within and on the border. American troops were withdrawn a year ago.

I think you will agree with me, Dr. Judd, that it is in the interest of the United States to take effective action in support of the Korean Republic. This is true because the United States has made a strong United Nations a major policy. Failure of the United Nations to carry out its decision would seriously impair its authority. The United States assisted in establishing the Korean Republic; has recognized it, as have 30 other states; and has urged its admission to the United Nations, though this was not effected because of Soviet veto.

Destruction of the Korean Republic would weaken United States prestige in noncommunist Asia and discourage the democratic governments, which, in Southeast Asia, are struggling against serious communist movements.

The United States, like the United Nations, has exhibited moderation. Though President Truman declared that he was sending air and naval forces to help the Korean Republic and was sending military missions to aid the Government

of the Philippines and Indo-China, he did not mention any steps looking toward an alteration of the status quo.

This is especially true in China. He declared he is sending a naval force to Formosa, but this is designed, not only to prevent invasion of Formosa by the Communists, but also to prevent the Government of Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa from invading the mainland. Formosa and the Communist Government of General Mao, which controls the Chinese mainland, remain in status quo.

The Korean situation is serious. It could result in world war. Vigorous action is necessary to maintain the United Nations and to prevent a communist military advance. If such action is successful, the problem of Asia and the Soviet Union will remain.

In my judgment—and I don't believe you will agree with this, Dr. Judd—this crisis would have been less likely if the *de facto* government of China had been recognized last winter.

The interests of peace and security would, I think, be advanced, if China and the Soviet Union were both represented in the United Nations by the governments which control them, however much we may dislike those governments.

The interests of democracy, of the United Nations, and of the United States will be served if vigorous action is taken to prevent changes by external aggression; if democracy advances its cause by the dissemination of ideas, giving an equal opportunity to the Communists; and if governments, whatever their ideologies, that gain control of existing states with the acquiescence of the people are recognized; and if the United Nations is made universal in membership, so that it can serve as a world forum of consultation, conciliation, and decision. (*Applause*)

Moderator Cherne:

Thank you, Dr. Wright. Our second speaker is Congressman Walter H. Judd, Republican, of Minnesota. Dr. Judd speaks about the Far East with personal knowledge, since he has spent ten years in China as a medical missionary. He was elected to Congress in 1942 and has been a Representative since then. Dr. Judd. (*Applause*)

Congressman Judd:

The lawless attack upon the Republic of Korea by communist forces brings both the United States and the United

Nations to the hour of showdown, at least, in our thinking with respect to the nature, the objectives, and the methods of communist forces in Asia. We have ducked and dodged this problem ever since V-J Day, but we can evade the issue no longer.

Communist forces in Korea, China, Indo-China, the Philippines, and other parts of Asia are just like those everywhere else in the world—part of the Kremlin's conspiracy to conquer the world, nation by nation.

Now, what can we do to prevent its success? First, with respect to Korea. We had only two choices. We could hesitate and delay, as we have done heretofore in Asia, and then watch the rest of the continent go down like a house of cards. Or, we could do what I yesterday urged our Government to do and what in essence the President announced this noon would be our course and which I fervently hope the Security Council will adopt at its meeting tonight; namely, take the strongest possible stand against such naked aggression and flagrant violation of the U. N. charter with assurance by the United States that if requested by the U. N., to the limit of our capabilities in the Far East, we will make our full strength available for carrying out the U. N.'s decisions and urge all other member nations to do the same. (*Applause*)

Such a stand has some chance of proving effective in stopping this and further aggressions. Indecision or half-hearted measures which have been the curse of our policies in Asia in the past would be neither worthy nor sensible. They could lead only to continued disaster.

There are risks, of course, either way, but one course presents risks with some hope of success. The other presents equally great risks and the certainty of failure. (*Applause*)

All over the world, the Soviets and forces controlled by them spend their time kicking on doors. Whenever they find the door strongly held, usually by ourselves or by forces supported by us, they have not once pushed to actual involvement in war: witness Iran, Greece, Trieste, Italy, France, Japan, and Berlin. Whenever they have found the door not firmly held, they have walked in: witness China and now Korea.

If the action of the United Nations, backed to the hilt by the United States and others, convinces the Russians that we mean business in the Far East, just as we did in Berlin and in Greece, there is a possibility—I suspect a probability—that the Soviet Union will decide not to push down the Korean

door, and instead may announce that it will use such influence as it has with those impetuous North Koreans to get them to withdraw to the 38th parallel, in line with Russia's "well-known and ardent desire for peace." (Applause)

If, despite today's decision, Russia insists on going ahead in Korea, we are no worse off than if we did nothing. In fact it would have enormously better effect upon the rest of Asia for the U. N. and ourselves to do our best, even though it might be too late to save Korea, than to do nothing at all except deplore, condemn, and then send sympathy to the victim and do as Dr. Wright suggested—admit them to the United Nations.

That is, firm action cannot make anything worse and might—I think, probably would—make them a good deal better. Because the issues are far greater than just Korea, important as that is. The larger issues are whether any free people in Asia are to have any confidence that the United States will stand behind them in the clutch, as we have stood behind the free nations of Europe. And second, whether anyone, anywhere, can have any confidence whatsoever in the United Nations,

It seems to me like Alice in Wonderland to support in one breath, as Dr. Wright does, the action our Government has just announced in opposition to communist aggression in Korea, and in the very next breath to advocate giving the greatest possible assistance to communist aggression in China and Asia by seating Communist China in the U. N. (Applause)

First, there are no legal reasons why Communist China should be admitted. It has not had clear possession of the State with the consent of the majority of the people when an election has been held. Mao Tse-tung officially announced last month that over 400,000 guerrillas are fighting it. That's more than are engaged in Korea.

Second, it does not have the capacity to carry out ordinary international obligations because it isn't independent. It's an acknowledged puppet of the Kremlin.

Third, it has demonstrated that it is neither disposed nor willing to enter into normal international relations and carry out international obligations, even with those who hasten to recognize it.

Fourth, there are no moral reasons. Aggression over a period of three years is no less aggression than that carried out over three days. And certainly it cannot be in our interest

to give such a boost to Communism as admission to the U. N. would give and such a blow to the morale of those in Asia who are resisting it.

And in addition, the survival of the United Nations as an instrument of justice and peace in the world is at stake. At Yalta, we sacrificed our principles and other people's rights and territories to persuade Russia to come in to the United Nations. If we yield now to her present blackmail, then every time she cannot get her way by normal methods, she will stage a new boycott and get it that way. It would almost be simpler to amend the U. N. charter to state that the Security Council is obliged to do whatever the Soviet Government wants, especially if the Secretary General approves.

It will not wreck the U. N. if Red China is not in it, any more than it is wrecked by the Soviet refusal to let Switzerland join. If Russia is willing to wreck the U. N. over this issue, then it is willing to wreck it over any one of a dozen other issues it can cook up whenever its will is crossed or whenever it believes it to its advantage to stage another walkout.

To yield to Soviet coercion under the mistaken belief that we are saving the United Nations is, in my judgment, not to save it, but to sign its death warrant. (*Applause*)

Moderator Cherne:

Thank you, Dr. Judd. You have now heard two points of view at sharp variance; at least, on the question of admission of the Chinese Communist Government into the U. N. Now, gentlemen, both Congressman Judd and Dr. Wright, before we take the questions from the audience, I assume that both of you would like to ask each other a question. Have you a question you'd like to ask of Congressman Judd, Dr. Wright, or a comment to make?

Dr. Wright: Well, I don't think, Dr. Judd, that we differ about Korea. Our main difference seems to be about China.

Congressman Judd: I've got a consistent policy in both places. You don't seem to have one, do you?

Dr. Wright: My policy in regard to China is that which was expressed by George Washington when he recognized the *de facto* government of the French Revolution, just after it had cut off the head of Louis XVI, and the policy which was followed by Woodrow Wilson when he recognized the Milyukov Government of Russia—the government policy, as stated by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, 1875, in these

words: "The practice of the United States in recognizing that a government of the people which is a *de facto* one is founded on the only true and wise principle and policy."

In my opinion, the government of General Mao in China is a *de facto* government. Now, I realize that Dr. Judd thinks that it doesn't control China sufficiently and that it doesn't act with the consent of the people. I can say a good many things on these points, but I should like to have Dr. Judd give his opinion on whether or not it is a *de facto* government.

Moderator Cherne: And I'm going to ask Dr. Judd when he gives his opinion if he can do so rather briefly, so that we can hear the questions from the audience.

Congressman Judd: Well, as I thought I said during my speech, Dr. Wright, it has not demonstrated the qualifications that are ordinarily required in international diplomatic relations before a nation is given recognition.

It exists. Nobody denies that a thing exists. You have gangsters in some cities in the United States, but you don't say, "Well, now the gangsters exist. They are *de facto*, so we must get along with them." You don't get anywhere until you decide to get rid of the gangsters. (*Applause*)

Now, you've got two ways to get rid of the gangsters: One is to attack them from the outside. I don't want to use that method. I want to prevent their further success in conquering other peoples to the point where the internal tensions and the immoralities within the Soviet Union are bound to lead to changes from within, because, mark my word, there can be no peace or relaxation or security for any person in this land until dictatorship in the Kremlin is overthrown. (*Applause*)

Moderator Cherne: I'd like to give Dr. Wright an opportunity now to reply to you briefly.

Dr. Wright: Well, all I can say is that it seems to me your policy would mean that we would withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union, from Bulgaria, from Romania, and the other satellites. Those governments we are dealing with. We recognize them diplomatically. They are just as much communist as the government of General Mao.

Congressman Judd: We recognize them, but there are good reasons to believe it might have been better not to recognize them. And just how successful are we in carrying on relations with those countries which we have recognized? I am convinced that the Soviets in any country will trade with us whenever it is to their advantage, whether we recognize them

or not. And they won't trade with us when it isn't to their advantage, even if we recognize them ten times. (*Applause*)

Moderator Cherne: Now, while we get ready for our question period, here is a message for our Town Hall listeners.

Announcer: Tonight's program on the Korean invasion is based on news which broke only three days ago. Town Meeting discussions are always timely, and one of the best ways for you to keep well-informed is to read the Town Meeting Bulletin regularly. Each issue contains the opening statements of the speakers and all the questions and answers. The Bulletin is \$4.50 a year, or you may want a \$1 subscription for eleven weeks to cover the summer months when you may not be able to hear Town Meeting each week.

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Now for questions from our Vanderbilt Theater audience, here is our guest moderator, Leo Cherne.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Cherne: Now, Congressman Judd and Dr. Wright, if you are ready for the questions from the audience, we'll start with a question from a very attractive lady who would like to ask a question of Congressman Judd.

Lady: I don't want my question to be misunderstood, Congressman Judd. You know that my sympathies are with the Korean people in the South who have been invaded. I agree with you in the showdown, but I just wanted to ask if you can say why President Truman took action to help 20 million Koreans and did not do as much to prevent the same sort of conquest of 450 million Chinese. (*Applause*)

Congressman Judd: Well, Mrs. Fitch, that's a question which history will have to solve. I can't explain it. In Europe and in Korea, we say, "We'll help you to keep the Communists out." In China, we sent Mr. Marshall over to tell them that we wouldn't help them unless they took the Communists out.

Chinese are somewhat simple-minded. They've always had difficulty understanding that. I hope you folks understand it. I've never been able to understand it.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

WALTER H. JUDD—Walter Judd, Republican Congressman from Minnesota and a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was a medical missionary and hospital superintendent in China for a number of years (1925-31 and 1934-38), under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was born in Rising Sun, Nebraska, and received his B.A. and M.D. degrees from the University of Nebraska. In 1918, he enlisted in the United States Army and served in the Field Artillery.

In 1923, he received his medical degree and not long after went to China. During a furlough in the United States, he had a fellowship in surgery at the Mayo Foundation in Rochester, Minnesota (1932-34). Dr. Judd spent 1939 and 1940 speaking throughout the United States in an attempt to arouse Americans to the menace of Japan's military expansion and to get an embargo established on the sale and shipment of war materials to Japan. At the time of his election to Congress in 1943, Dr. Judd was conducting a private medical practice in Minneapolis.

QUINCY WRIGHT—Dr. Wright is professor of international law at the University of Chicago, with which he has been associated since 1923.

Born in Medford, Mass., he is a graduate of Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill., (B.A., 1912) and the University of Illinois (M.A., 1913; Ph.D., 1915). From 1916-19, Dr. Wright was instructor of international law at Harvard, and following upon that, was professor of political science at the University of Minnesota. He was consultant to the Foreign Economic Administration and the Department of State from 1943-44 and served a year as technical adviser to the American member of the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Germany.

The author of several books, including *The Study of War and Legal Problems in the Far Eastern Conflict*, he is affiliated with a number of associations and societies.

LEO M. CHERNE—Well-known economist and legislative analyst, Mr. Cherne is executive secretary of the Research Institute of America, Inc., with which he has been affiliated since 1939.

Born in New York City in 1912, he specialized in journalism and sociology at New York University. In 1934, he graduated with an LL.B. from New York Law School and practiced law for a year. He has been a lecturer and a member of the faculty of the U. S. Military Academy and the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University. He was adviser on taxation and fiscal policy to General MacArthur in 1946.

Besides editing the publications for the Institute, Mr. Cherne is the author of a number of books, among them, *The Communist in Labor Relations*; *Guide to Tax Economy*; and *The Rest of Your Life*.

Mr. Cherne: Now, before we hear the question for Dr. Wright, I have a bulletin from the ABC news room: "The meeting of the U. N. Security Council scheduled for 9:00 p.m. tonight is now rescheduled for 10:00 p.m. New York Time." And now for the question for Dr. Wright.

Man: This is a double-barreled American question. How can we clothe the United Nations with authority to enforce its decisions as well as responsibility for recommendations regarding the unprovoked invasion of Korea?

Dr. Wright: I don't think there is any way to clothe the United Nations with authority, except by arousing a world public opinion behind it. If there is a strong enough public opinion in this country and in other countries, then the provisions for the giving of military force to the United Nations can be effected. But I think the primary need is a world public opinion insisting that the United Nations shall be strong. (*Applause*)

Mr. Cherne: A world public opinion, I gather, such as is reflected in Town Meetings of this character. And now, Dr. Judd, there is a question for you.

Man: Congressman Judd, are you in favor of military aid to Korea, even if it means total mobilization?

Congressman Judd: I don't think we have to cross that bridge until we get to it. If you were to live in this world by always saying, "Well, I can't do this because it might lead to that," you'd never get anywhere. I'm a doctor. Every time I operate, I am taking a chance. Something may go wrong that may lead to the patient's death. Now we've got to calculate not only the risks in action, but the possible developments that may come if we take such action. But we've also got to calculate the certain risks we take if we don't take such action.

I don't believe it will lead to war, and I'm sure that if Russia wants war, then we won't fight it in Korea. She'd like to have us fight a war, perhaps, if we were foolish enough to do it in the areas that she picked out where it would be to her advantage. But, as I said earlier, there will be no war unless we allow our side to get so weak, or her side—by nibbling away piece by piece—to become so strong that she thinks she can win. She isn't going to war over provocation. Her men are hard-headed and realistic. The old-fashioned insult is out, as far as the Kremlin. She'll win if she gets strong enough or we get weak enough. Therefore, we mustn't

let her take these nations one by one, for that will lead to war. (*Applause*)

Mr. Cherne: Thank you, Dr. Judd. And now for the last quick question, a question for Dr. Wright.

Man: What can the people and the U. N. do to prevent the Korean war from spreading into a world war?

Dr. Wright: I think I would answer that the same as Dr. Judd did to a similar question. I think if we take a firm stand and drive the Northern Koreans back that we are less likely to have a world war than if we don't. Of course, there are risks. There are always risks, as Dr. Judd says, whether it's in medicine or in world politics. But it seems to me that the Soviets do not want a war. They want to get what they can without a war.

Mr. Cherne: Thank you, Dr. Wright, for both the question and the answer were sufficiently short to take still another question, this time for Congressman Judd.

Man: Is there any way that Russia's veto power may be dissolved?

Mr. Cherne: Oh boy, how are you going to answer that in a short time?

Congressman Judd: The only way I see some hope is for us to say that we are going to try to get the United Nations charter revised or amended so that we can eliminate that particular roadblock which is used to prevent the United Nations from functioning as people want it to function. But if we stand around and say we won't do anything until she agrees, I can guarantee she won't agree. Therefore, I believe that while trying to get changes on the universal level, we must also be prepared to go ahead without her, if she insists. Not outside the United Nations, but inside the United Nations—the door open. But if she refuses to come along, we cannot allow the thing to be paralyzed. She's got a bloc within the United Nations, a club within a club—the Soviet bloc. The free nations must get together under Article 51 and say, "If you won't come in, then it's intolerable that this lawlessness be carried on." We must stand together in a great coalition of strength which makes it impossible for her to believe that she can succeed. (*Applause*)

Mr. Cherne: Thank you, Congressman Judd and Dr. Wright. Now, in just a few moments I'll tell you about our subject and speakers for next week.

Announcer: Perhaps you know how you feel about the important issues of the day, but do you know the other side?

You must know both sides in order to reach a sound judgment, particularly in this election year. That's what makes democracy work. Out of these Town Meetings which present both sides come tolerance, understanding, reason, and new knowledge. This explains why newspapers, banks, automobile dealers, labor unions, and industrial firms sponsor Town Meeting on their own ABC stations throughout the country.

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13. How Can Organized Religion Advance American Democracy?
14. What Should We Do About Federal Aid to Education?

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50. Do We Have an Alternative to the Cold War?
51. What Effect Do Our Race Relations Have on Our Foreign Policy?
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Now, for news of next week's program, here again is our guest moderator, Leo Cherne.

Mr. Cherne: I know all of you here in the United States, and by the Voice of America all over the world, will want to join me in congratulating George Denny on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of his association with New York's Town Hall. (*Applause*) Only a well-earned vacation could have kept Mr. Denny from personally receiving the well-deserved acclaim that is his tonight. Our best wishes to you, George, for another wonderful 20 years ahead.

Every day, Town Meeting listeners tell us how much they enjoyed our 15th Anniversary Book, *Good Evening, Neighbors*. If you have ever attended a Town Meeting, you will find the pictures of the broadcast familiar and exciting. If you have never seen Town Meeting, you will find these pictures new and dramatic. All Town Meeting listeners will want this attractive 80-page book, *Good Evening, Neighbors*. Our supply is going fast. To be sure of getting your copy, send \$1 tonight to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. If you also want a copy of tonight's timely discussion, enclose 10 cents additional.

Next week, we hope the Korean war has eased sufficiently so that we can turn from the international crisis to a crucial domestic problem: "Is the Fair Deal Destroying Individual Responsibility?" Our speakers will be Max Lerner, author, columnist for the *New York Post*, and professor of American Civilization of Brandeis University, and Vivien Kellems, industrialist and former Republican candidate for nomination to the United States Senate from Connecticut. We understand, incidentally, that Miss Kellems may set off a giant firecracker on that most appropriate day, the Fourth of July. You may obtain tickets by writing or stopping in at Town Hall. So plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's bell.